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ABSTRACT

Social studies education in the United States and Australia has undergone a number of evolutionary phases since the mid-19th century and has been the subject of frequent debate by educators and community members. Major trends in social studies curriculum have included religious training, moral instruction, political socialization, perpetuation of the social and economic system, reflective inquiry, problem solving, integration of social science disciplines, and more recently, citizenship and values education. Although a major objective of many of these social studies traditions has been good citizenship, disagreement has arisen over the most appropriate means to that end. Also, social studies teachers have not fully realized their role as professional ideologists and transmitters of citizenship. Social studies education will improve and will contribute to positive social change if it encourages development of a critical consciousness among students. One way of fostering critical consciousness and of helping students attain moral/practical knowledge is to follow Lawrence Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental approach to moral and values education. The approach developed by Kohlberg encourages meaningful thought about social practice and de-emphasizes maintenance of social education and existing social relations. (DB)

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A CULTURAL CRITIQUE OF 'VALUES EDUCATION' AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES.

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Marxist analyses of education are becoming well known - although as yet are mainly fragmentary, and fraught with problems. No single authoritative conception of Marxism as applied to education is available and Marx in his many writings did not extend his account of changes in consciousness or categories of thought in terms of the social relations of production to a systematic analysis of the educational system of his time, or any other time. In fact he wrote little directly upon the subject.

As M.F.D. Young points out, Marx

> 'directed his attention to the question of how knowledge is controlled and legitimized but said little on the process of its acquisition.' (1)

Several attempts have however been made recently to apply Marxian analysis as a lead to some conception of the ways in which education may serve in societies such as our own as an agent of the reproduction of the social relations of capitalist production.

One of the leading proponents of values education is Jack R. Fraenkel, Professor of Interdisciplinary Studies in Education at San Francisco University. He argues from the assumption first that society is faced with numerous social problems that have arisen 'as a result of policies put (or not put) into effect in the past by men and women just like ourselves'. Secondly, this state of affairs is improvable through education, in particular,

> 'We shall need nothing less than serious and sustained attention to values and value issues at every grade level. The identification, comparison and analysis of values and value positions, along with a systematic explanation of value issues and conflicts, need to be a continuous and planned part of classroom activity through out the grades.' (2)

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1. Young, M.F.D., Knowledge and Control, p. 28.

2. Fraenkel, J., Values and the American Heritage, N.C.S.S. Year Book 1976, p. 150.

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Presumably then, the planned, systematic contemplation of these problems and their consequences by children and their teachers will eventually lead to some improvement in the human condition.

A comprehensive 'value analysis' program of the kind envisaged by Fraenkel would include the ability to:-

- Formulate some idea of what a value is
- Know the difference between a factual type question, an inferential type question and a question of value
- Know what a value indicator is
- Make reasonable inferences about a persons values
- Compare and contrast values
- Participate in value discussion
- Evaluate value claims
- Evaluate evidence to support an argument
- Increase understanding of why different people value different things
- Realise that values conflict
- Explore and evaluate alternatives and consequences in value conflict situations. (3)

These are some of the tasks central to the values education program as Fraenkel would have it. Such a program would enable students to think about their own values and the values of others in a systematic and logical manner, to gather relevant data, verify assertions, to offer reasoned explanations and draw valid conclusions. Students would also be required to begin to develop the ability to empathize with others of a wide variety of cultures in order to see that people from other cultures, and within their own culture, hold values that differ from their own. The systematic treatment of values in the classroom would need to take into account all of these skills, abilities and dimensions .

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3. Fraenkel, J., Values of the American Heritage, p. 161

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All of this would take place in addition to and presumably but not always in concert with the 'implicit' inculcation of values that takes place in all schools at all times via the 'hidden curriculum'.

At the present there are a number of varieties of values education of greater or lesser degrees of usefulness being undertaken in schools, which Fraenkel has attempted to loosely classify.

	Type	Behaviours	Expcnents
1.	Moralising	Telling-lecturing-preaching-berating.	Many teachers?
2.	Religious moral education.	Guidance towards a 'good life' found in scriptures.	
3.	Behaviourist	Modelling-displaying correct behaviour	Most teachers.
4.	Relativism	Values clarification exercises.	Raths & Simon.
5.	Developmentalism	Advancement through stages of moral reasoning.	Piaget - Kohlberg
6.	Cognitivists	Value analysis	Scriven, Fraenkel, Metcalf. (4)

Fraenkel suggests that what values education there is, is generally located within items 1-3. It will be noted that he places himself in category 6, the Cognitivists' along with Michael Scriven and Lawrence Metcalf. Presumably this is thought to be the most adequate approach and the one best suited to achieve Fraenkel's somewhat ambitious aim for values education.

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4. Workshop, S.C.V. - Coburg, July 1976.

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Even more recently the tendency seems to be swinging to unashamed citizenship education - it would seem that in some quarters at least 'the gloves are off'.

> 'inculcation, as defined by Jack Fraenkel, is properly a function of the social studies. It involves presentation of basic principles and ideals of society in such a way as to engender positive attitudes towards the society. This means a frank admission, even argument that democratic societies are superior to other societies in terms of certain criteria or values.' (5)

As the distinction between 'social studies' and 'citizenship education' of a fairly explicit kind concerned with the inculcation of 'core' or 'mainstream' values become less clear, schools, and the social studies section of the curriculum, take on increasing ideological and political significance. Similarly at such times the important distinction between 'schooling' and 'indoctrination' also becomes less apparent.

The position of Marx and Engels on education although not stated systematically or comprehensively is unambiguous - and it would seem stated in terms particularly relevant to the content of this paper. In the Communist Manifesto they railed:

> 'And your education! Is not that also social and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, director indirect of society, by means of schools?' (6)

But this is little more than a glimpse; an indicator of a possible hypothesis which must be developed and then tested against the considerable weight of Marx's writings. As has been argued elsewhere, there is no simple matter given the comprehensiveness and complexity of

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5. The Link SSEC, Vol. 1,No. 1. p. 3.
'A New Look at Citizen Education'.

6. Marx, K. and Engels, F., The Communist Manifesto, Penguin, p.100.

.../5

the work of Karl Marx. (7) Further such a conception must be located in and find its source in a social practice that is neither easy to identify nor simple to comprehend. As the Arena editorialists remind us,

> 'Under conditions of 'late capitalism' a viable revoluntionary project must take a cultural form in which commodity fetishism and instrumental rationality geared to the conquest of man and nature can be seen as central to the critical practice of a movement for transition. (8)

The critical analysis of education likewise must necessarily spring from, and be part of that 'cultural form'. It is against this perspective that the broader educational process and the values/citizenship component of social studies teaching must be viewed.

One fairly comprehensive but incompletely worked out attempt has been made by H. Bowles and S. Gintis in Schooling In Capitalist America. This has been discussed in some detail elsewhere - but even this somewhat 'tunneled vision' reveals elements of the tension between the myth and reality of schooling.

For Bowles and Gintis from their declared Marxist viewpoint,

> 'the education system ... is best understood as an institution which serves to perpetuate the social relations of economic life.' (9)

This straightforward and quite defensible proposition is later developed into the 'legitimation hypothesis' i.e. a fundamental function of education is to legitimate pre-existing relationships.' (10) Further, the reproduction of these social relations, i.e. the social relations of capitalist production, depends on the reproduction of a consciousness

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7. 'The Role of Political Economy', editorial Arena 39, 1975, p. 3.
8. See Paper 1 : 'The Writings of Karl Marx and the Analysis of Education'.
9. Bowles, H. and Gintis,S., Schooling in Capitalist America, p. 11
10. Ibid., pp. 102-103.

of a particular kind. In large measure this takes place through the formal education process - i.e. schooling.

As Bowles and Gintis bluntly put the case, but accurately,

> 'Through the educational encounter individuals are induced to accept the degree of powerlessness with which they will be faced as mature workers.' (11)

But further explication is necessary to arrive at the broader cultural possibilities.

A more adequate, and comprehensive perception of the problem is provided by Istvan Meszaros in Marx's Theory of Alienation. In doing so Meszaros reveals the narrowness of the position put by Bowles and Gintis.

> 'No society can persist without its own system of education. To point to the mechanisms of production and exchange alone in order to explain the actual functioning of capitalist society is quite inadequate. Societies exist in and through the actions of particular individuals who seek to realise their own ends. Consequently the crucial issue for any established society is the successful reproduction of such individuals whose 'own ends' do not negate the potentialities of the prevailing system of production. This is the real size of the educational problem ; formal education is but a small segment of it.' (12)

Clearly the problem has at least two dimensions, both closely inter-related and inter-dependant. In addition to a reproducing on an ever increasing scale and to high levels of sophistication the skills and competencies necessary to productive activity, the 'comprehensive' educational system of a society is the mechanism responsible for producing 'the framework of values' within which individuals perceive

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11. Ibid., p. 265

12. Meszaros, I., Marx's Theory of Alienation, p. 289

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and seek to understand their world. This comprehensive educational system, besides a formal component (schools) will include influences and institutions such as the church, media, family and peers. Under the education systems of advanced capitalist countries such understanding is usually at best partial. It is the hypothesis of this paper that the most overt of educational means towards promoting that end e.g., values/citizenship education, only succeed in rendering understanding even more partial. This partial or incomplete understanding Meszaros describes as the varied forms of 'false consciousness' which represent the alienated social relations of commodity production as 'the direct, natural expression of the individuals aims and desires.' (13)

The totality to which this 'false consciousness' becomes the reality of social experience, and the means by which this may be maintained has been described by Gramsci in terms of capitalist hegemony - as deeply saturating the consciousness of society, constituting the limits of common sense and reality.

In a hegemonic situation the illusion of educational choice can be permitted. Thus, in Social Studies teachers and students can be permitted, even encouraged, to discuss ' controversial issues', 'moral dilemmas', 'value incidents' or take part in 'values clarification' exercises. The reality remains however that despite the apparently growing power of teachers to decide upon their own curriculum most changes to curricula have been instigated from outside the educational system, or from within the educational bureaucracy. Such choice as is possible takes place within clearly defined but fluid limits. In this situation School Based Curriculum - the notion of a curriculum derived from the immediate and peculiar needs of the children and the community served by the school - takes on the character of the purchase of a T Model Ford - choose any color you like - so long as its black!

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13. Ibid., p. 300.

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Geoff Sharp in a recent Arena editorial 'Beyond Political Economy' wrote,

> 'In the present period the cultural values of developmentalism, of consumerism, of national productivity, by the service of escalating 'needs' generally by the technocratic state draw support from a confluence of two sources. Beyond the transformation of fetishism lies capitalist class interest but behind science lies instrumental rationality generally.' (14)

Social Studies in schools and its values component with its emphasis on 'rational decision making' and 'analysis', in no way poses a threat to the 'cultural values' identified by Geoff Sharp or the sources of these values. Such programs and activities can therefore be tolerated, even fostered. Perceived threats to strongly held values will swiftly be dealt with by the ruling class or their operatives (e.g. Mrs. Norma Gabler), the Texas test book lobbyist who recently visited Austrlia. Hence the banning in Queensland of Man : A Course of Study on the directive of Mr. (or Mrs.) Joh Bjelke-Petersen ever on the alert to communist incursion.

In reviewing Bowles and Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, Merv Turner concluded,

> 'the school is the site of tension and contradiction between education as cultural transformation and education as cultural regeneration.' (15)

Values Education, with the possible exceptions of the moral reasoning approach adopted by Lawrence Kohlberg poses neither a threat nor a solution. At best it is therapeutic. At worst, and most commonly, it is reactionary - in times of national or international unrest or tension unashamedly moving closer to indoctrination.

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14. Sharp, G., editorial 'Beyond Political Economy, Arena 43, 1976, p. 7.

15. Turner, M., 'The Great American Dream - By Revolution', Arena 43, 1976, p. 39.

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One of the more completely worked out conceptions of the problem of cultural transformation and the reactionary role of education generally in denying this is provided, at least at the theoretical level, by L. Althusser in his article 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses'. He begins with the proposition that

> 'In order to exist every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production at the same time that it produces and in order to be able to produce. It must therefore produce:
>
> i. the productive forces
>
> ii. the existing relations of production.' (16)

Schools have an important part to play in both dimensions. For example the formal education system has an important role in the reproduction of the required skills and knowledge necessary for capitalist production. Hence in recent times, under a conservative government, the re-allocation of funds to job oriented Technical and Further Education and renewed calls from the Employers Federation for literacy, numeracy and other work related 'basic' skills.

In addition, and while gaining this required 'know how' children at school also learn the 'correct' way to act i.e.,

> 'the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is 'destined' for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means the rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination.' (17)

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16. Althusser, L., 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' in Cosin, B.R., (ed) Education : Structure and Society, pp. 242-243.

17. Ibid., p. 245

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Put, according to Althusser, 'more scientifically',

> 'the reproduction of labour power required not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of established order.' (18)

Althusser then goes on to describe the means by which these two objectives are achieved in capitalist society and the central role of schooling in this fundamental exercise.

By his analysis 'State Power' is maintained in capitalist society by a 'repressive State apparatus' (government, army, police and prisons) and also by what he has termed Ideological State Apparatuses (religious, educational, legal, political, cultural, communications, family, trade unions) regardless of whether they be 'public' or 'private'. The repressive State apparatus functions primarily 'by violence' whereas the State Idological Apparatus (ISA) functions by ideology, i.e. the ideology of the ruling class. At a secondary level these characteristics are reversed, so that both apparatus share elements of both characteristics with greater or lesser emphasis. Hence servicemen may possess some ideological committment and teachers employ sanctions or violent means such as caning to achieve their respective goals. While the repressive State apparatus may be effective in the immediate and short term

> 'no class can hold State Power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Idological Apparatuses .' (19)

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18. Althusser, L., Op. Cit. p. 245.
19. Ibid., p. 253.

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The primacy of the Ideological State Apparatus cannot be denied, since they may not only be the 'stake' but the 'site' of class struggle; firstly because the matter or the currency of the various apparatuses is more contestable and secondly because the resistance of the exploited classes who on occasions find means to express their opposition within the various apparatuses. (20) By this analysis then the reproduction of the relations of production is secured - to use Marx's topographical metaphore - by the 'legal-political and ideological superstructure' i.e., by the exercise of State Power in the State apparatuses both Repressive and Ideological. (21)

In the pre-capitalist period the dominant Ideological State Apparatus was the Church which in that period had educational and cultural as well as religious dimensions. It is Althusser's thesis that 'in mature capitalist formations the educational ideological apparatus is the dominant State Ideological apparatus. Seen this way teachers and educators of all sorts become professional ideologists and the education system the adaptive process by which youth is prepared to be taken 'into production.' It is also the principal sorting Mechanism by which an individual finds a place in the productive process. Of recent times those who have not successfully adapted find themselves, sometimes, but not always, reluctantly on the edge or outside of the productive process. In recent times also employers of labour have been increasingly critical of the efficacy of the adaptive process - the products of the system are 'untidy', 'illiterate' or disrespectful. Hence there have been calls to tighten up the system and to get 'back to the basics'.

A few brave teachers will 'teach' against the pre-dominant ideology but,

> 'the majority do not begin to suspect the 'work' of the system ... forces them to do, or worse, put all their hearts and ingenuity into performing it with the most advanced awareness. (22)

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20. Althusser, L., Op. Cit. p. 255.

21. Ibid.

22. Althusser, L., Op. Cit., p. 261.

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Such is the key role of schools in creating and maintaining the social relations of production in advanced capitalist societies. The portion of the school curriculum which addresses itself most directly to the problem of cultural transmission is the social studies.

Lawrence Kohlberg who since 1958 has paid particular attention to a cognitive-developmental approach to moral education has written, in a somewhat circular fashion,

> 'Essentially, social education is moral education and moral education is education for citizenship.' (23)

This was found in Plato's Republic and Dewey's Democracy and Education. In The Politics, Aristotle showed how the process of education from infancy to death would mould the type of citizens required by the State. In 1976 the President elect of the American National Council for the Social Studies acknowledge the recent revival of explicit citizenship education as the legitimate concern of social studies.

> 'While some social science educators did not see it as a 'proper concern' ... and that it represented low order objectives most other experts agreed that 'citizenship education' is what social studies is all about.' (24)

Citizenship education has been around for a long time. In one form or another it has been a constant element in the curriculum of our schools. The 1954 Curriculum in Social Studies for Victorian Schools contained exhortations to 'Good Citizenship' through observance of national days and ceremonies. The draft of the document soon to be issued to Victorian schools 'The Primary School Curriculum - A Guide for Victorian Schools' is at least quite open about some of the functions of schools.

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23. Kohlberg, L., 'This Section in Perspective' in Social Education, April 1976, p. 213.

24. Barr, R.D., Barth, J.L., Shermis, S.S., Defining The Social Studies, p. 49.

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Among other things they serve as (i) child minding centres, 'schooling is the arrangement our society has made for children from 5-15 to occupy their time while the adults of the community are working. (ii) Schools function as socialization agencies, that is they help to transmit the dominant culture of society, its values, morals, beliefs, customs, rituals and understandings to children. For example, competition in school prepares children for the free competition economy of western society.' (25) The direction is clear - schools ought to be transmitting the values of the dominant culture. At the same time they ought to ensure that the process of work goes on with as little interruption as possible.

Why the renewed interest of Professor John Patrick in an interview published in the ERIC CHESS Annual Newsletter, in referring to the American experience suggests that it might have something to do

> 'with the propensity of our country (U.S.A.) to use the schools to cope with immediate social problems.' (26)

While this propensity may be less direct in Australia than in America the more covert approach is no less effective - indeed in its subtlety perhaps more so.

A brief survey of trends and tendencies in Social Studies curriculum and the ebb and flow of emphasis on explicit Citizenship Education, when placed against some historical/political factors may add weight to Patrick's hypothesis.

Social Studies has, since it became a legitimate study, gone through a number of evolutionary phases - each new phase or reversion to a previous one has been accompanied by professional and community debates. The American experience has in general, with a slight time lag and less intensity, been paralleled in Australia.

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25. The Primary School Curriculum : A Guide for Victorian Schools, p. 2.

26. Patrick, J., 'Looking at Citizenship Education', ERIC/CHESS Annual Newsletter 1977.

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Between 1940 and 1960 against the background of World War II and the Cold War, McCarthyism, and the Korean War, efforts were mainly directed towards ways of integrating the social sciences for the purpose of explicit citizenship education. An attempt to go against the main stream were the 'social reconstructionist' social studies materials of Harold Rugg which in TIME Magazine of March 3, 1941 were described as 'un American', 'socialist and subversive' and accused of 'fostering treason'. By the end of the 1940's the anti-Rugg forces had won and the materials were removed from the schools. Interesting parallels can be made with the current MACOS controversy. (27)

Most significant advances made during the 1940's and 1950's were adaptations and applications of the Dewey inspired 'problem oriented-reflective inquiry' approach. Disenchantment by the end of the 1950's however was brought into sharp focus by the launching of the Russian Sputnik satellite. By the late 1950's the stage was set to make major changes in the curriculum generally. Especially singled out by such groups and individuals as Admiral Rickover and the Council for Basic Education was the 'fads and frills' of progressive social studies slush.' (28) Paradoxically, at the classroom level, probably the opposite was the case. Whatever the debate in the professional journals and elsewhere, social studies teaching, at the chalk face, was as stilted, content centred, history oriented and expository as it had ever been. Yet regardless of what was actually occurring there was widespread dismay at what was thought to be going on.

The outcome of the reaction was the era of the New Social Studies of the 1960's based in the 'hard data and rigourous methodology of the social science disciplines' with the aim of transforming

> 'anti-democratic students into junior historians and social scientists.' (29)

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27. Bagenstots, N.T., 'Social Reconstruction : The Controversy Over the Textbooks of Harold Rugg' in Theory and Research in Social Education, Vol. 5, No. 111 December, 1977, pp.22-39.

28. Barr, Barth and Shermis, Op. Cit., p. 42.

29. Ibid.

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The 'New Social Studies' was 'exported' to Australia and became the basis for Social Studies Curriculum courses in Teachers Colleges in the early and mid 1970's. Impetus to the New Social Studies movement came from Jerome Bruner's The Process of Education and public and private funding was provided in huge amounts to bring together educators, psychologists and social scientists to create instructional materials based on the most up to date learning theories and research findings. The paradigm case of this was the $12 million Man : A Course of Study, inspired by Bruner himself and sponsored by the National Science Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Eventually more than fifty projects were funded, the majority of them concerned with trying to teach history and the social sciences as an end in themselves and in this way produce better informed citizens. In retrospect then the 'New Social Studies' can also be seen as little more than a variation upon a familiar theme.

After a decade of development two trends became clear;

> 'i. Most curricula were moving toward a multi-disciplinary approach drawing key concepts from the full range of the social science disciplines and history e.g. the organic curriculum of Lawrence Senesh in Our Working World.
>
> ii. It was apparent that Social Science Education could not ignore Values or or value issues.' (30)

By 1970 the emphasis was beginning to swing back to explicit citizenship education. Again two factors seem to have been operating,

1. The evaluations undertaken on a wide scale were not favourable, one survey concluded that,

> 'the various new curriculum projects currently being undertaken in the social studies appear to have little impact on student preparation throughout the country.' (31)

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30. Barr, Barth and Shermis, Op. Cit. p. 45.

31. Barr, Barth and Shermis, Op. Cit., pp. 47-48.

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2. Certain historical/political factors were having their effect; principally the war in Vietnam, the Civil Rights Movement, Kent State killings, and finally Agnew, Watergate and President Ford's pardon of Nixon.

Again the cry was 'back to basics' and this time one of the basics was 'citizenship education.' Symptomatic of the sense of national guilt was the article by Jack Anderson of the Washington Post.

> 'Our belief in ourself is unravelling under the stresses of shattering scandalism breakdowns and breaches of faith in high places. A sense of things gone wrong pervades the land, of values lost, of anger against those who symbolize that loss. Whatever it was we were trying to do together, whatever it was we once stood for, is dissolving into uncertainty and disillusionment ... what is our national purpose? What is the source of our patriotism? What could possibly unite and give purpose to such a Kaleidescope populace? ... The time is at hand to turn this incohate yearning into a movement of national regeneration.' (32)

Jerome Bruner himself, one of the instigators and shining lights of the New Social Studies Movement, by 1972 had to concede failure. In the introduction to Relevance of Education he wrote

> 'American educational reform in the early sixties was concerned principally with the reconstruction of curriculum. The ideal was clarity and self direction of intellect in the use of modern knowledge ... In the second half of the decade ... deeper doubts began to develop. Did revision of curriculum suffice, or was a more fundamental restructuring of the entire educational system in order? (33)

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32. Ibid., p. 7

33. Bruner, J.S., Relevance of Education, pp. 9-10.

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No such restructuring of curriculum took place - at least not of the kind that Bruner was anticipating - and as part of the more general reaction Social Studies Curriculum returned to its traditional home.

In tracing the ebb and flow of trends in social studies curriculum, Bar, Bath and Shermis have, perhaps crudely, identified three traditions of social studies teaching which can be distinguished according to the variety of knowledge, Valuing, skill and participation objectives they pursue.[33a] These are:

1. Citizenship Transmission: concerned with transmitting a particular view of society and of what it is to be a good citizen. While perceptions may vary the central point is a desire to inculcate certain values and to instil a certain view of good citizenship.

2. Social Science : To study the 'structure of the various social science disciplines in such a way as to lead to a better quality of participation in civic life.

3. Reflective Inquiry: This stresses that teachers should emphasize experience and personal inquiries which cause students to develop and test insights. Such a body of tested 'insights' is essential to good citizenship.

A common thread running through each tradition of social studies is a committment to 'good citizenship'. The only disagreement being as to the most appropriate means to that end.

Seen in this way, as one form or other of 'citizenship education, social studies is clearly the most central overt and explicit curriculum component operating within what Althusser has described as the 'educational ideological apparatus'.

33a. Barr, R.D., Barth, J.D. & Shermis, S.S.
Bulletin 51 National Council for the Social Studies, 1977.

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As social studies educator Harold Berlak stated in a recent article,

> 'schools are not fertile ground for the sort of civic or political education that informs and encourages a critical examination of society and its institutions and social relations.' (34)

Althusser has shown why this need be so in advanced capitalist societies.

By the late 1970's it has become appropriate again to use the terms 'social studies' or 'citizenship education' interchangeably - they have in fact become so closely aligned as to be almost interchangeable. How each teacher perceives citizenship education i.e. social studies teaching depends upon whether schools are seen as 'reactors to social change' whereby social studies teaching becomes a kind of survival kit of knowledge, attitudes and skills for coping with a rapidly changing world. The Victorian Education Departments Primary Social Studies Course, Society In View, fits this prescription. Alternatively, they may be seen as initiators or agents of social change in which students can come to be more alert, critical and able to act upon perceived problems. Man : A Course of Study, properly taught has some potential to do this - hence the reaction in America and Queensland.

It seems apparent from the analysis of education from a Marxist perspective - principally the reproduction of false or partial consciousness hypothesis, that schools play an important part in the reproduction of the social relations of production in a capitalist society through both the transmission of the technical 'know how' and the values and dispositions required. The review of social studies curriculum trends in the past thirty years or so reveals that in one form or another and with varying degrees of specificity and emphasis the principal concern of social studies teaching has been the education of 'good citizens' who are successfully 'adapted' to take their place in society. Despite disclaimers and long arguments about 'ethical pluralism'

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34. Berlak, H., 'Human Consciousness, Social Criticism, and Civic Education', in Building Rationales for Citizenship Education, Shaver, J.P., ed., p. 37.

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and 'cultural relativism' the values education variant of citizenship education, with perhaps the exception of the cognitive-developmental approach to moral education taken by Lawrence Kohlberg, is firmly located within the mainstream of social studies as citizenship education.

Citizenship/values education, indeed education in general, has seldom, or never been liberatory or radical - yet it possesses the potential to be so if stemming from and located in meaningful thought about social practice. To have people critically reflect upon what is happening to them, how they got to be that way and how they might change is central to any conception of cultural transformation. Unfortunately, thus far,'citizenship'or 'values' education, or the many variants, seem to have little to do with this. In fact the contrary appears to be the case.

The sooner teachers in general and social studies teachers in particular realise their role as 'professional ideologists' and 'citizenship transmitters' the better. From this kind of realisation, sometimes described as 'consciousness', a movement for social transformation can be begun.

Throughout the discussion some care has been taken to withhold critical judgement - at least for the present - upon one stream of thought within values education. The work in question is that of Lawrence Kohlberg and his cognitive-developmental approach to moral education. Since his work is incomplete any conclusive judgement would be premature. There is however, the possibility that Kohlberg's approach may allow the development of that 'critical consciousness' that would render education 'liberatory' and 'radical'.

In his detailed discussion of historial materialism, Jurgen Habermas turned his attention to an analysis of the ways in which social movements

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under particular conditions lead to new forms of integration and to a developmental renewal of society. Habermas points out, echoing to some extent Althusser,

> 'the species does not learn only in the very important dimension of technical knowledge - which is relevant for the development of productive forces - out also in the decisive dimension of moral practical knowledge which can be embodied within the structure of interaction.' (35)

How can this moral-practical consciousness be developed? Habermas finds his solution in the 'research tradition of Piaget which takes account of the 'developmental stages of moral consciousness.' (36) For Piaget these are the pre-conventional or the stage of 'moral realism', the conventional level governed by intentional conformity with social expectations and existing norms and the post conventional level of principled morality. Habermas suggests that,

> 'Understanding moral development in this manner, we could develop a genetic theory of action which could be used to explain the competences of speech and action of the individual who grows into a symbolic universe and the competence of this very universe.' (37)

This would seem to be a likely basis for the contemplation of the social world and the place of the individual in it with the possibility of the development of a truly critical consciousness.

For more than twenty years Lawrence Kohlberg has been attempting to apply this Piagetian cognitive developmental theory to the process of moral reasoning with children. R.S. Peters, despite some doubts, describes the work of Kohlberg in the field or moral education as 'by

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35. Habermas, J., 'Historical Materialism Reconsidered', Arena, 38, 1975, pp. 74-75.

36. Ibid.

37. Habermas, J., Op. Cit., p. 75.

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far the most important which has been done to date'. (38)

For Kohlberg,

> 'the goal of moral education is the stimulation of the natural development of the individual child's own moral judgement and capacities, thus allowing him to use his own moral judgement to control his own behaviour.' (39)

He sees this as little more than 'aiding the child to take the next step in a direction he is already tending'. (40)

In developing this scheme Kohlberg interviewed subjects in nine different cultures and identified three levels of moral development - the pre conventional, the conventional and the post conventional. (41) Two stages are identified within each of the levels. The stages have been described by Fraenkel as follows. (42)

Stage 1:

A morality of punishment and obedience (physical consequences determine what is right.)

Stage 2:

A morality of instrumental hedonism (satisfying ones own needs is what is right.)

Stage 3:

A 'good boy' - 'nice girl' morality (maintaining good relations with others and obtaining their approval is what is right.)

Stage 4:

A morality of maintaining 'law and order' (obeying authority and doing one's duty is what is right.)

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38. Peters, R.S., 'Moral Development : A Plea for Pluralism' in Psychology and Ethical Development, p. 304.
39. Kohlberg, L., Op.Cit., p. 215.
40. Kohlberg, L., Op. Cit.,p. 215.
41. These correspond closely with Piaget's three levels of pre moral heteronomous & autonomous morality.
42. I have employed Fraenkel's description because of his brevity and less technical language.

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Stage 5:

> A morality of contract, of individual rights, and of democratically accepted law (standards critically examined and agreed on by the society as a whole determine what is right.)

Stage 6:

> A morality of individual principles of conscience (the decision of one's conscience, in accord with self chosen principles, appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality and consistency determines what is right.' (43)

The stage of development of an individual is determined by the nature of reasoning displayed in response to a hypothetical moral dilemma in which the individual must make a moral choice, or judgement or decision. The critical factor is not however the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of the decision but rather the stage of moral reasoning demonstrated to come to it.

Kohlberg's scheme however poses massive pedagogical problems. The transition from one stage to the next, although sequential and invariant, cannot be 'taught' in the strict sense of the term employed by Kohlberg. Rather the process of selective 'cognitive stimulation' fosters the interaction between the childs cognitive structuring tendencies and the structural features of the environment so that he develops a pattern of behaviour - a way of thinking about the world - to deal with the structural features. Many other problems arise for the teacher attempting to implement this scheme. First Things : Values is a packaged program that attempts, most imperfectly, to implement some of the ideas of Kohlberg into a program for primary schools.

While withholding judgement on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg, this paper has attempted to show via the analysis of L. Althusser the important role of schools as the principal State Ideological Apparatus

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43. Fraenkel, J.R., 'The Kohlberg Bandwagon : Some Reservations', in Social Education, April, 1976, pp. 216-217.

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concerned with maintaining and reproducing the social relations of productuion in capitalist society. Secondly a survey of social studies curriculum trends, when placed against historical political events such as Vietnam and Watergate, has revealed the key role of the social studies as 'citizenship transmission'. Citizenship education, especially at times of national or international distress, is the very stuff of social studies teaching. Variants of citizenship education in particular values education, despite disclaimers likewise are located in the mainstream of cultural transmission and regeneration. Instead of fostering the critical consciousness necessary to enable schooling to become an agent of social change, such approaches and techniques stifle and distract from critical awareness. As such they can be seen as simply another means of the maintenance of social cohesion and existing social relations in capitalist societies. If the analysis of Habermas is correct however, the process for the attainment of 'moral/practical knowledge' as perceived by Piaget and elaborated further by Kohlberg, holds out some small hope for achieving useful work in schools in the future.

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